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AUTHOR Olien, Clarice N.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

A telephone survey of 10 Minnesota communities was conducted to examine media use. The results indicated a pattern of metropolitan dominance throughout the suburbs and general dominance of metropolitan media for nonlocal news. Dominance of the two Minneapolis daily newspapers was reflected in their circulation, followed by the two St. Paul dailies. Of St. Paul respondents, 26 percent read the Minneapolis newspapers and only 1 percent of Minneapolis residents read St. Paul newspapers. The data supported the expectation that reading of a daily or weekly local newspaper was correlated with the community's self-sufficiency for employment and services as was media use for nonlocal news. The results showed that as the educational level of a community increased, the use of newspapers for nonlocal news also increases and the use of television goes down. Also supported by the data was the expectation that suburbs would choose metropolitan daily newspapers less for local news than would the central cities that produced them. (Attached is a summary of a research report on journalists' views of their jobs and their public. Information for obtaining a copy of the full report is also included.) (HTH)

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Metropolitan Dominance and Media Use

By Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue and Phillip J. Tichenor

HIGHLIGHTS: The dominant power of a regional metropolitan center over surrounding suburbs and towns is illustrated by both use of and preferences for metropolitan newspapers and electronic media as news sources. Metro media are dominant for both local and non-local news. Metro-originated television is the overwhelming preference over print media for non-local news in outlying communities. Local daily or weekly readership is higher in communities having greater self-sufficiency. Suburban communities have more diverse patterns of media use than do central cities, but suburban readers rank weeklies below metro dailies and electronic media as sources of local news. Media use patterns mirror the general structural dominance of metropolitan centers in regional social organization.

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American Newspaper Publishers Association
The Newspaper Center, Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
William C. Marcil, Chairman and President Jerry W. Friedheim, Executive Vice President
Maxwell E. McCombs, Director, ANPA News Research Center

Metropolitan Dominance and Media Use

By Clarice N. Olien, George A. Donohue and Phillip J. Tichenor

Clarice N. Olien is a professor and Extension rural sociologist; George A. Donohue is a professor of Sociology; and Phillip J. Tichenor is a professor of Journalism and Mass Communication, all at the University of Minnesota. *The research reported here was supported by funds from the Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Minnesota and from the American Newspaper Publishers Association.*

Daily newspapers currently are groping their way through changes in how they provide information about their regions. Constrained by increasing occupational specialization, changes in the workforce and lifestyles, concentration of population in metro areas and growth of suburbs, large daily newspapers have increased their focus on metropolitan audiences in general and on suburban clientele in particular. Many have made what seem, to traditional journalists, to be extensive adjustments such as format, zoned editions, time of day of publication, as well as content directed toward the lifestyles of suburban interest groups. Media must change to reflect the changes in metropolitan organization, and the social forces to which they are subjected, if they are to survive. This is a condition faced by all social organizations, of which the media are a case in point.

Even with this increasing orientation of metropolitan daily newspapers to the metropolitan area, there is considerable question whether metropolitan dailies do in fact dominate communication processes in their regions, including the suburban communities toward which the dailies appear to be increasingly directed. Will the metro dailies maintain a role as major sources of news about the local area as well as society at large?

Might changing community structure lead to development of a new media mix, dominated by electronic and specialized print media such as suburban weeklies with metro dailies playing a secondary role? Will the degree of metropolitan newspaper dominance vary according to type of community, with suburbs having newspaper and electronic media use patterns that diverge from those of central cities and outlying communities? Are patterns of media use in one suburb a carbon copy of patterns in other suburbs, or do these patterns vary according to demographic and structural differences among suburbs as well?

Summary of Findings

Findings from surveys in 10 Minnesota communities indicate a pattern of dominance throughout the suburbs, and dominance of metro media generally for non-local news.

Reading a local daily or weekly newspaper is higher in communities that have higher degrees of self-sufficiency for occupations and services, and suburbs tend to have lower levels of use of daily newspapers for local news than do central cities.

Suburban communities also have greater diversity in patterns of media use than do central cities. Also, the findings underscore the strong role played by electronic media in local news in the metropolitan area, and the overwhelming preference for television for non-local news in outlying communities.

These findings reinforce the conclusion that in suburbs with heavy dependence on the metropolitan center for jobs, there is heavy use of the newspaper primarily for its metropolitan orientation.

Scope of Analysis

This analysis is guided by a *structural* frame of reference, with large metropolitan centers viewed as concentrations of social power in all institutional spheres, including governmental, business, educational, health and legal sectors. Decision structures in suburbs, regional cities and small towns necessarily are constrained by decision-making structures that exist in metro areas. Such constraints can be seen in granting of funds for public facilities, in commercial development such as chain-owned food and equipment retailing, in siting of utilities and transportation facilities and in nearly every other area of major community activity. Media development is viewed as an integral part of community development, reflecting the structural characteristics of the community.

Small rural communities are often served by weekly newspapers that are narrowly oriented toward topics of immediate local concern and depend upon other media for broader coverage and "interpretation." Larger daily newspapers in urban centers provide this local coverage as well as news about the larger society. Media configurations in any particular community reflect connections between the community and external power centers, including the strength of linkages with metropolitan centers.

Methodology

Data used in this analysis are from more than 1,100 telephone interviews conducted in 10 Minnesota communities in March, April and May of 1978. These communities include Minneapolis and St. Paul, six suburban communities, and two outlying communities. The suburbs include three which have strong dependence on Minneapolis for employment (Maple Grove-Corcoran-Greenfield; Fridley; St. Louis Park), two with strong dependence on St. Paul for employ-

Metropolitan Dominance of the Communities Studied

The Twin Cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, historically developed as the center of government for Minnesota, as the location of regional federal offices, and as the hub of commerce for a number of states. This metropolitan region typifies the Upper Midwest in degree of metropolitan dominance in social power, and, therefore, in the extent to which communities generally look to the metropolitan area as the locus of control over a wide range of human activity.

Although they are neighboring central cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul have distinct social structures. St. Paul is the older of the two, with a manufacturing tradition and a vertically diversified population structure similar to the typical eastern industrial city. Minneapolis is a younger city with more horizontal diversity in business and professional service firms. While the state capitol and state government offices are in St. Paul, Minneapolis has emerged as the power center of the region, as illustrated by Minneapolis-based control in business and financial institutions, political parties, organized sports and the performing arts. The dominance of Minneapolis is partly illustrated by the fact that, while both Twin Cities have relatively high proportions of residents employed locally, proportionally more St. Paul residents go to Minneapolis for work than go from Minneapolis to St. Paul.

Suburban Fringe

A sample drawn from three suburban communities on the outer fringe of the metropolitan area northwest of Minneapolis, including Maple Grove, Corcoran and Greenfield, is treated here as a single suburban area. This outlying transitional area does not have a full complement of services, although these services are expected to develop in the future. The area has the highest rate of population increase of all communities, having quadrupled in size since 1960. It has large areas of open country, some part-time farms and a few full-time farming operations interspersed with areas of intensive residential development. Among the 10 community areas, this sample has the lowest level of local employment (9 percent) and the lowest use of local services, but a relatively high rank on community identification. The principal newspapers are the Osseo-Maple Grove Press (circulation 2,300) and the Crow River News (circulation 3,300), both of which were published by the same firm and contained a considerable amount of identical local news and advertising at the time of the study.

Fridley is a growing suburb north of Minneapolis and is one of several suburbs having at least as much employment in Minneapolis as locally. Unlike Maple Grove-Corcoran, Fridley has moderate use of local services along with a low rank on the community identification scale. There is a local edition of the Sun Newspapers, a metropolitan-area group of weekly papers, distributed in Fridley.

An Older Suburb

St. Louis Park is a large and older suburb adjacent to the west boundary of Minneapolis, with a stable population, high dependence on Minneapolis for employment and high use of local services. St. Louis Park has the highest proportion of college educated respondents among all 10 communities, reflecting its unique character as a long-established upper-middle class community with a concentration of residents in upper-middle income professions. The local newspaper is an edition of the Sun.

New Brighton is an older suburb north of the Twin Cities which has undergone considerable population growth and change in recent decades. Its recent population increase, more than tripling since 1960, is the second highest among the 10 communities and its level of education is second only to that of St. Louis Park. New Brighton is geographically nearly equal in distance between the centers of St. Paul and Minneapolis. About 36 percent of the respondents' jobs were in central cities, with slightly more in Minneapolis than in St. Paul. New Brighton's rapid recent growth is reflected in its average period of residency, which is shortest of all 10 communities; it also has the lowest rank on perceived community identification. The community newspaper is the New Brighton Bulletin, a weekly with 5,000 circulation.

St. Paul Suburbs

South St. Paul is an older suburb adjacent to the city of St. Paul, with a slight decline in population, a distinctive working class structure, the third lowest educational level and the longest period of residency among the communities in this study. The suburb contains a large meat-packing industry which has declined recently as a source of employment; slightly more South St. Paul respondents are employed locally than in St. Paul. The local community newspaper is a weekly regional edition of the Sun.

Cottage Grove is a residential suburb southeast of St. Paul, with higher employment in St. Paul than in any other community studied except St. Paul itself. Like Maple Grove-Corcoran-Greenfield, Cottage Grove is a rapidly growing area, with more than three times the population in 1976 than it had in 1960. The local newspaper is the Washington County Bulletin, with a circulation of 4,200.

Rural Areas

The rural Stearns County area which includes Paynesville (but not St. Cloud) is unique among the communities studied in its highly rural location and its relatively low level of education. A high proportion of rural Stearns County respondents were employed in their own community area and about a third depended on farming as the principal household source of income. The main population center in the area is Paynesville, with a population of about 2,000 and the principal newspaper is the Paynesville Press, a weekly with 2,900 circulation.

St. Cloud, population 41,141, is the county seat, located on the other side of Stearns County from Paynesville. Among the 10 communities studied, St. Cloud has the highest proportion employed locally and the highest use of local services. Located 65 miles from Minneapolis, St. Cloud is a regional center whose current population represents a moderate increase (22 percent) since 1960. It has an increasingly urban character, having a variety of businesses and services, a state-supported four-year college, and a vocational training institute. It ranks second among the 10 communities in degree of community identification, with the rural Stearns County area being first. The newspaper in St. Cloud is the Daily Times, published six days per week, with a circulation of 23,000. □

ment (South St. Paul and Cottage Grove) and one in which there is split dependence for employment in Minneapolis and St. Paul (New Brighton). The two outlying communities are the city of St. Cloud in Stearns County, 65 miles northwest of Minneapolis and an area including the city of Paynesville and 12 surrounding rural townships. Respondents were contacted by a random digit dialing technique in all sample areas except rural Stearns County.

Metropolitan Media Dominance

Do the media from the metropolitan central cities have a dominant position in patterns of media use in the region?

Dominance of Minneapolis within the metropolitan area, and in the region as a whole, is reflected in circulation of the newspapers from the Twin Cities. In 1978, the Minneapolis Tribune (morning) had a circulation of 225,000 and the Minneapolis Star (evening)[1] circulation was 236,000 while the St. Paul Pioneer Press (morning) had a circulation of 102,000 and the St. Paul Dispatch (evening) had a circulation of 117,000. Each pair of newspapers had a combined Saturday/morning edition, with 443,000 circulation for the Saturday Minneapolis Star and Tribune and 179,000 for the Saturday St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch. The Sunday Pioneer Press circulates 242,000 primarily in a two-state area, while 607,000 copies of the Sunday Minneapolis Tribune circulate throughout the Upper Midwest. The Saturday and Sunday circulation levels of the Minneapolis newspapers are greater than for any other daily newspaper in the northern half of the nation, between Chicago and Seattle.

Data on patterns of individual newspaper reading reveals clearcut dominance by metropolitan dailies over weeklies in the metro area. Reading of at least one metropolitan daily newspaper is as high in the suburbs as in the central cities themselves.

The dominant position of Minneapolis newspapers in the metropolitan area and their impact in the larger region is reflected in at least two aspects of the readership data in Table 1. One is that 26 percent of St. Paul respondents read the Minneapolis newspapers and only one percent of the Minneapolis residents read St. Paul newspapers. This difference accounts for the fact that the proportion reading two or more Twin Cities dailies is higher in St. Paul (48 percent) than in any other of the 10 communities. The dominant position of Minneapolis newspapers also is clear when one reviews the data in rural Stearns County and St. Cloud, where 48 percent read one of the Minneapolis daily newspapers and less than 10 percent read a St. Paul newspaper. While one might speculate about characteristics of the specific newspapers, such as type and nature of coverage, as factors in this pattern, the structural perspective contributes to a much broader understanding of this pattern of media dominance.

The only case where local weekly reading surpasses daily newspaper reading is in rural Stearns County. Reading a local weekly is lowest in the three cities served by daily newspapers, with suburbs intermediate in levels of weekly newspaper reading. Data for suburbs alone show that reading a weekly and a daily are generally quite independent in these areas, a finding supporting the notion that weeklies do not necessarily compete with dailies in suburban communities.

Table 1

Newspaper Readership Patterns*

	Rural Stearns County n=120	St. Cloud n=100	Minneapolis n=118	St. Paul n=159	Maple Grove-Corcoran n=139	Fridley n=97	St. Louis Park n=102	New Brighton n=106	South St. Paul n=105	Cottage Grove n=110
Read either Minneapolis daily newspaper	48%**	48%***	86%	26%	85%	95%	97%	84%	13%	9%
Read either St. Paul daily newspaper	4%	8%	1%	85%	0%	2%	2%	15%	92%	95%
Read two or more Twin Cities dailies every day	5%	7%	21%	48%	14%	28%	28%	21%	32%	22%
Read a local weekly newspaper	66%	6%	13%	8%	47%	38%	21%	42%	55%	54%

*The four categories are not exclusive. The first two rows show the percent who read one of the two newspapers from Minneapolis or St. Paul at least once a week.

**In rural Stearns County, 57 percent report reading the St. Cloud Daily Times at least once a week.

***In St. Cloud, 82 percent report reading the St. Cloud Daily Times at least once a week.

There is no consistent relationship between daily and weekly reading in the suburbs. Percentage reading a weekly is low in St. Louis Park where the percentage reading two or more dailies is high. On the other hand, South St. Paul, which has an even higher percentage reading dailies, also has the highest percentage reading a weekly among all six suburbs.

Self-sufficiency and Newspaper Use

Is the use of newspapers dependent upon the economic self-sufficiency of the community?

Theory suggests that a community structured to provide economic activity and services for the full range of citizen needs is more likely to dominate the life experience and outlook of its citizens.[2] This outlook is expressed in stronger feelings of identification with the community, including levels of use of the local newspaper which portrays local institutions and provides a continuous report of local events.[3] The degree to which such a relationship prevails is critical for the question of media dominance, since it raises the possibility that reading of weeklies in highly self-sufficient suburbs might alter the media mix.

Suburban communities have a degree of autonomy in political, religious, education, and other functional areas, but are highly interdependent with other communities for employment, professional practice, and such services as stores, health agencies, and home and mechanical repairs. Extra-community employment might be expected to be especially important for non-local newspaper use, since dependence upon a particular neighboring community for jobs implies an identification with the economic and political stability of the neighboring community. On the other hand, a suburban community which has employment for its own citizens and provides a wide range of services would theoretically have stronger local identification and higher local newspaper use.

The data strongly support the expectation that reading of a local newspaper, daily or weekly, is positively associated with self-sufficiency for occupations and services. The proportion of persons reading a local newspaper is higher in communities having higher levels of local employment. The rank correlation across the 10 communities is .76 ($p < .01$). Similarly, reading of local newspapers is higher in communities having higher use of local services (rank correlation = .62, $p < .05$), and reading is higher in those communities where there are higher levels of community attachment (rank correlation = .66, $p < .05$).

There is, however, an important qualification to the conclusion that reading a local newspaper is related to structural characteristics of community self-sufficiency and to strong feelings of community identification. When the six suburbs are considered separately, reading of a local weekly newspaper is *not* associated with level of local employment or self-sufficiency for local services. These suburbs as a group stand apart from other types of communities both in self-sufficiency and in local newspaper reading, but the structural chacteristic of self-sufficiency does not explain these differences in reading *among* the suburbs.

The point here may well relate to the dual identification that exists in suburbs. While there is a relative degree of self-sufficiency in suburbs, there also is a clear identification of any suburban area with the metro area, as a result of the functional interdependencies of which identification is born. This stands in contrast with outlying communities where self-sufficiency is less a function of interdependence and more a function of physical separation.

Sources of "Most Local News"

Although level of *reading* of local newspapers is related to economic self-sufficiency of communities, naming television, newspaper or radio as the source giving "most local news" is relatively independent of that community characteristic. None of the correlations between community characteristics and mentioning of newspapers for "most local news" is statistically significant.

Media use for *non-local* news is strongly related to level of local employment and community identification. In communities where there are higher levels of local employment, there is greater mention of television as the source of most non-local news (rank correlation = .67, $p < .05$) and less mention of newspapers as the best source of such news (rank correlation = -.69, $p < .05$). Similarly, choice of television for this purpose is higher (.71, $p < .05$), and choice of newspapers lower (-.79, $p < .01$), in communities where there is high community identification.

Education and Media Patterns

Another community characteristic studied was educational levels. This characteristic, while not a strong factor in *reading* of local newspapers or in use for local news, is strongly related to use of media for *non-local* news. As educational level of a community goes up, use of newspapers for that purpose increases (correlation = .79, $p < .01$) and use of television goes down (correlation = -.83, $p < .01$). One of the implications of these findings is that rural areas, which generally have lower levels of education than urban communities, may suffer further knowledge deprivation as a result of their preference patterns for media. Numerous studies indicate that differential use of *print* media contributes to increasing gaps in knowledge between groups with high and low levels of education.

Sources of News and Community Type

Do suburbs use metropolitan daily newspapers for local news less than do the central cities which produce these newspapers?

The expectation of less use in suburbs is based on the structural principle that diversity and division of labor create an independence in suburbs which is born of functional interdependence rather than self sufficiency. The political separateness of most suburban communities contributes to a social structure which is highly homogeneous in ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics while functionally dependent on neighboring communities. Under these structural arrangements, reading about one's suburb in the "neighborhood" section of a metropolitan newspaper, for example, may be quite different from reading it in the suburban community press. Reports about center city government in the center city daily is structurally less relevant to the suburban citizenry, whose community political organization is purposely separated from that of the center city.

Results in Table 2 generally support the conclusion that suburbs in a metropolitan area choose daily newspapers less for local news than do central cities themseleves. These data also are a striking illustration of the degree to which choices of local news sources in the suburbs are dominated by media from the metropolitan center cities, particularly radio and television.

Weekly newspapers rank fourth for local news in seven of the eight metro communities. While weekly newspapers are mentioned more frequently for this purpose in the suburbs than in central cities, they are still mentioned less frequently than daily newspapers. Daily newspapers are generally preferred over other individual media for local news, throughout the metropolitan area.

St. Paul residents mention a St. Paul daily as the source of "most local news" as frequently as do residents of South St. Paul and more frequently than do residents of Cottage Grove. Similarly, Minneapolis residents are more likely to mention a Minneapolis daily as the source of most local news than are residents of three of the four suburbs, in the study, which are near or adjacent to Minneapolis.

While dailies are dominant, they are not the exclusive source of local news. The electronic media are a significant part of the media mix for providing local news. When television and radio are taken together, *they* are generally dominant over print media. In six of the 10 communities, including Minneapolis, radio and television together have audiences at least as large as dailies for local news.

Radio alone has a larger audience for local news than weeklies in six of the eight metro communities. Among all 10 communities, as indicated above, rural Stearns County is the only case where a weekly newspaper is mentioned more frequently than dailies. Even here, radio is mentioned with the same frequency as weeklies, 28 percent for each.

These findings provide further support for the auxiliary rather than primary role of the suburban weekly. If suburban groups are to get the information necessary for serving their interests, they must orient themselves to the metropolitan media mix rather than to the local weekly alone. As social power shifts

Table 2

Source of "Most Local News"

	Rural Stearns County	St. Cloud	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Maple Grove-Corcoran	Fridley	St. Louis Park	New Brighton	South St. Paul	Cottage Grove
Minneapolis daily	0%	6%	38%	6%	22%	33%	47%	35%	1%	1%
St. Paul daily	0%	0%	0%	42%	0%	0%	1%	8%	41%	29%
Other daily	18%	56%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%
Weekly	28%	0%	1%	1%	17%	13%	5%	8%	11%	23%
Television	23%	7%	33%	30%	32%	30%	29%	25%	30%	29%
Radio	28%	30%	21%	15%	22%	18%	11%	19%	10%	13%
Don't know or No response	3%	1%	6%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	6%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

increasingly to suburbs, "local news" increasingly becomes news about the metropolitan area as a whole rather than about matters confined to one's immediate suburban boundaries. This broad conception of "local news" can ben seen in the fact that television in the Twin Cities and their suburbs is a close second preference for "most local news." With the advent of cable, television may well become the most significant source of local news.

The highest choice of a daily newspaper for local news, among all 10 communities is in St. Cloud, where the circulation area of the St. Cloud Daily Times includes Paynesville. St. Cloud is a growing regional center which is still in the stage where it does not have a television station of its own. It receives much of its television coverage from the Twin Cities. In this setting, the local daily is the clear first choice for "most local news" and radio is mentioned with the next highest frequency.

In Paynesville and the surrounding rural area, the dependence on other areas is such that no single medium commands a majority for local news. Only 28 percent choose a local weekly, the same as choose radio for local news. Almost a fourth in this area choose television for *local* news, which means a station either from the Twin Cities or from Alexandria, a small town northwest of Paynesville. Also, nearly a fifth in the rural Stearns County sample choose a daily for local news, which in most cases means the St. Cloud daily.

Metro Media and Non-local News

Findings about *non-local news* further illuminate the role of the metropolitan daily newspapers in the suburbs. Mention of the Minneapolis daily as the source of most non-local news ranges from 30 to 42 percent in the four suburbs with the highest employment in the core city. Table 3 shows that in Minneapolis itself, only 27 percent mentioned the local daily as the source of most non-local news, while 54 percent mentioned television. What is clear is that there is higher mention of the Minneapolis daily for non-local news in these suburbs than in Minneapolis itself.

Metro television, broadcast primarily from metropolitan stations, is the principal source of non-local news in eight of the 10 communities, including the two outlying places. The exceptions are St. Louis Park and New Brighton, the two communities with the highest levels of education.

Metropolitan media clearly dominate state, national and international news in all 10 communities. This domination includes St. Cloud and the rural Stearns area, where respondents tend to mention either television, which is primarily metropolitan in origination, or Minneapolis daily newspapers. Radio is cited more frequently as a medium for local news. In all communities, radio ranks below television and newspapers for "most non-local news."

Diversity in Media Use

Do suburban communities have greater diversity in patterns of media use than exist either in central cities or nonmetropolitan communities?

The expectation that greater diversity in media use occurs in suburbs is based on the assumption that the higher degree of specialization of interests in surburbs leads to a higher degree of *media* specializa-

Table 3

Source of "Most State, National and International News*

	Rural Stearns County	St. Cloud	Minne-apolis	St. Paul	Maple Grove-Corcoran	Fridley	St. Louis Park	New Brigh-ton	South St. Paul	Cottage Grove
Minneapolis daily	11%	12%	27%	10%	30%	39%	42%	38%	2%	2%
St. Paul daily	0%	2%	0%	30%	0%	0%	0%	5%	28%	34%
Other daily	8%	6%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Television	67%	73%	54%	46%	49%	48%	40%	44%	59%	51%
Radio	9%	7%	7%	9%	15%	9%	10%	8%	6%	7%
Don't know or No answer	5%	0%	9%	3%	5%	3%	7%	4%	4%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Weeklies were not mentioned for this use by any of the respondents in the communities studied.

tion. As units of a highly pluralistic metropolitan area, suburbs have multiple sources of information, and this multiplicity provides a structural basis for specialization in the media choices that individuals make. Given the choice among daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, television and radio, suburbs would be expected to have a greater distribution of residents among the different possible combinations than would occur in a central city.

Addressing the question of media diversity requires analysis of the different combinations of media use for each community. Five different uses, which could occur individually or in various combinations, were included in the index of diversity for each community. These uses include daily reading of a Minneapolis newspaper, a St. Paul newspaper, or a non-Twin Cities daily, reading of a weekly and watching five television news programs or more per week. These five uses make possible 32 different combinations of use patterns in each community, including use of none of the five. A "dispersion index" was calculated as a measure of the extent to which respondents in each community tend to be concentrated in a few combinations or across many.

Minneapolis and St. Paul rank relatively low on dispersion, with media use patterns dominated by reading of the local daily newspaper along with watching five or more TV news programs weekly. The suburban communities tend to have higher diversity scores than either Minneapolis or St. Paul, and television news viewing is less likely to be part of the dominant combination. One exception to the pattern is, again St. Louis Park, which has the lowest diversity in media use of all 10 communities.

The influence of media from both the regional city and the metropolitan area is reflected in another interesting finding in Table 4—the relatively high dispersion in media use combinations in the rural Stearns area. Although this is a structurally homogeneous area, with high economic dependence on agriculture and little diversification along institutional and ethnic lines, there is a high degree of choice being made among different media. With the heavy influence of external power centers on the rural Stearns County area, the local weekly even though widely read is far from being an exclusive medium.

Profiles of Community Media Use

This analysis makes it possible to draw a profile of media use patterns in different kinds of communities, revealing the complex interrelationships among communities which are vital for an understanding of use and preference for media for different kinds of information.

Central Cities. Minneapolis and St. Paul are typical metropolitan centers, having high concentrations of manufacturing and other business firms and concentrations of social power generally. These center cities have high dependence on their respective daily newspapers for local news. However, their newspapers have functions which go well beyond the corporate limits of Minneapolis *or* St. Paul.

The multiple orientations of such newspapers may contribute to the fact that these newspapers do not dominate local attention for local news to the extent that occurs in the smaller regional city, St. Cloud. The central city has high use of television for non-local news and, to a high degree, even for local

Table 4

Media Use Patterns

	Rural Stearns County	St. Cloud	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Maple Grove-Corcoran	Fridley	St. Louis Park	New Brighton	South St. Paul	Cottage Grove
Rank in dispersion score (1 = High)	1	4	9	8	3	7	10	2	6	5
Most frequent media use combination	TV news, regional daily, weekly (21%)	TV news, St. Cloud daily (25%)	TV news, Minneapolis daily (27%)	TV news, St. Paul daily (33%)	Minneapolis daily, weekly (22%)	Minneapolis daily, weekly (26%)	Minneapolis daily (31%)	None (17%)	TV news, St. Paul daily, weekly (31%)	St. Paul daily, weekly (25%)
Second most frequent media use combination	Regional daily, weekly (15%)	St. Cloud daily (22%)	Minneapolis daily (21%)	St. Paul daily (21%)	Weekly (16%)	Minneapolis daily (24%)	TV news, Minneapolis daily (25%)	Minneapolis daily (16%)	St. Paul daily, weekly (26%)	TV news, St. Paul daily, weekly (19%)

news. Minneapolis respondents depend on their daily newspapers to a lesser degree for non-local news than do residents of any of the suburbs.

An orientation toward the economic and political power center of Minneapolis appears to be held throughout the metropolitan area, but without being shared to the same degree in Minneapolis itself as in many of the surrounding communities. One might speculate that this pattern is similar to what may occur when any large metropolitan newspaper has the role of addressing the total system while maintaining attention primarily from relatively specialized groups within its home community. Minneapolis newspapers are to the state and region what The New York Times is to the nation. The Times has a low level of saturation within New York City itself, but a wide following among elite groups around the nation, illustrating the role of the "prestige press" nationally.

High Status Residential Suburb. St. Louis Park, with its long-established and stable population of middle and upper income, professional groups, has a strong traditional identification with Minneapolis. It has high dependence on the metro area for employment, a relatively high level of local community services, but a relatively low level of identification with the local community. The orientation here is apparently more cosmopolite than localite, an outlook reinforced by high readership of the metro daily and unusually high dependence on it for both the local and non-local news. A suburban weekly may exist and thrive in this setting, but it does not dominate attention. Instead, the weekly appears to serve primarily an auxiliary information function.

Older Working Class Suburb. South St. Paul is undergoing a slight population decline, a change associated with a decline during the past decade in level of operation of a major local industry. Residents tend to be older and less mobile than in the other communities, and the city has a mixture of local and non-local employment.

Reading of the local weekly is high in this community, but this high reading does not necessarily mean high choice of the weekly as the source of most local news. The clear preference for that information is the daily newspaper from the central city with which South St. Paul has close ties and interdependence, while the local weekly appears to play an auxiliary role. Television in a community with this social structure and position in the metro area is the clear preference for matters outside the local area. Such a community may develop a pattern of dual citizenship, with residents relating in well-defined ways both to the local community and the central city.

Rapidly-growing Residential Suburbs. Maple Grove-Corcoran-Greenfield, Fridley, New Brighton and Cottage Grove represent this type, with population more than tripling since 1960 in three, and doubling in the fourth. As residential communities with varying levels of local services, they are all in early stages of development and are highly dependent on the rest of the metropolitan area for employment while having local autonomy in political boundaries and educational districts.

These communities have relatively high levels of readership of a central city newspaper and high use of a local weekly. At the same time, use of that weekly does not match use of the metropolitan daily, even for local news, reflecting the fact that three of these communities have the lowest levels of community identification in all 10 in the study. Television in these residential communities, as in several others, is the source of most news on matters concerning the larger society.

Regional City. St. Cloud represents a separate and distinct community type, with a concentration of local employment opportunity and an extensive and diverse system of urban services that lead to a high level of reading of the local newspaper and high dependence on it for local information. These circumstances appear to produce a daily that has a highly specialized role as a *local* medium, in spite of its regular coverage of non-local events, primarily from the wire services. Such a community, not having its own television station, may have high dependence on metropolitan television for information about non-local matters, so that the separation in function between newspapers and television appears most complex.

Rural Community Area. In this socially homogeneous rural area where there is high dependence on agriculture for economic support, the weekly newspaper is more widely read, and mentioned for local news to a greater degree, than in any other type of community. Even here, however, the dependence of the community on outside forces, including the regional city and the metro area, places some constraints on media use patterns. Television is preferred for non-local news here to a greater extent than anywhere else except St. Cloud. Also, the fact that no other medium except radio relates directly to local concerns may contribute to the high local diversity in information outlets and to a high degree of selectivity in their use. In this setting, the community newspaper and the community radio appear to serve a joint local information function, a point which has not been raised frequently in recent communication research and appears to merit further study.

Conclusion

This analysis provides findings on media use and preference patterns that are related to structural aspects of organization and to media dominance. Earlier research has pointed to patterns of varying use and preference in urban centers as complete units, in comparison with smaller, more homogeneous communities. This analysis adds the suburb as a distinct community type and indicates the structural constraints arising from the integration of the suburb in a larger metropolitan center. Media serving the metropolitan area and the larger society are related to the principal social forces in these suburbs and the nature of these media may be expected to change as metropolitan complexes undergo further power shifts from central cities to suburban areas. □

Footnotes

[1]On April 5, 1982, The Minneapolis Star (e) was combined with the Minneapolis Tribune (mS) to form an "all-day" newspaper, The Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

[2]Bogart, Leo and Frank E. Orenstein, "Mass Media and Community Identity in an Interurban Setting," *Journalism Quarterly* 42:179-188 (1965).

Greenberg, Bradley S., "Community Press as Perceived by its Editors and Readers," *Journalism Quarterly* 41:437-442 (1964).

[3]Stephens, Lowndes F., "The Influence of Community Attachment on Newspaper Reading Habits," ANPA News Research Report No. 17, Dec. 20, 1978.

Stevenson, Robert S., "Newspaper Readership and Community Ties," ANPA News Research Report No. 18, March 9, 1979.

Grotta, Gerald L., Ernest F. Larkin and Barbara DePlois, "How Readers Perceive and Use a Small Daily Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly* 52:711-715 (1975).

Stone, Gerald C., "Community Commitment: A Predictive Theory of Daily Newspaper Circulation," *Journalism Quarterly* 54:509-514 (1977).

What is News? Who Decides? And How?

To get an understanding of journalists' views of their jobs and their public, Judee Burgoon, Michael Burgoon and Charles Atkin of Michigan State University researched the opinions of newspaper people for the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). Using two methodologies (questionnaires and in-depth personal interviews) these researchers interviewer reporters, editors and publishers from newspapers selected specifically to provide a mix of circulation sizes and ownership arrangements.

What is News?

Reporters defined "news" as those events and people which have an impact and are interesting and timely. Of prime importance is the element of "consequence." But these events are only news within the context of the "newsday," a measure of time only perceptible to reporters.

Defining the news falls somewhere in between the journalists' prerogative and responsibility. Though many reporters felt the majority of their peers held similar news values, few reporters thought their newspaper had a unified approach to the question of "what is news?" and reporters frequently thought their priorities differed from that of their newspaper.

An Occupational Hazard: Isolation

Although many reporters think it important to have direct contact with the members of the communities their newspapers serve, fewer actually follow up on this desire and many reporters felt they did not get enough feedback from the public.

Most reporters thought their general values were quite different from their readers. They also felt the time pressures and constraints of their jobs left little time for socializing in the community.

Communication and Direction in the Newsroom

A majority of reporters reported discussing their stories with their peers while somewhat fewer reported discussing their work with their supervisors. Reported interaction in the newsroom is somewhat greater in small newspapers and among those reporters who work in the sports or features department or who have been at their jobs three years or less.

Reporters were particularly unhappy about not only the quantity but also the quality of communication with their supervisors due to lack of guidance, unspoken rules and the lack of feedback and criticism of their work. Reporters, nonetheless, liked the freedom of being able to originate their own story ideas.

Job Satisfaction

Journalists said they loved their jobs and considered their work important and satisfying. They also, however, thought their jobs were stressful, frustrating and endless. Upper management people were more likely to express greater satisfaction as well as greater frustration with their jobs. Also, journalists who thought highly of their management and newspaper were more likely to express greater satisfaction with their jobs.

Perception of Readers and the Newspaper's Image

Journalists were somewhat pessimistic about their audience. They underestimated the proportion of people who read the newspaper as well as the average amount of time spent reading a particular issue of the newspaper. They also overestimated the popularity of network and local television news with the general public.

News people overestimated the appeal of sports and feature content and underestimated the appeal of more hard news items to the reading public.

Research

News people expressed fear of research because they thought it would show the public wants less substance in their newspaper. Many also felt their newspaper did not encourage awareness of research findings. The majority of the journalists interviewed expressed a lack of awareness of the Newspaper Readership Project. □

For a copy of the full report, write to the ASNE Project Director's Office, The Newspaper Center, Box 17004, Washington, D.C. 20041. Up to five copies are free, orders of 6 to 50 cost 50¢ each, and orders of more than 50 are $25 for the first 50 plus $10 for each additional 25. Make checks payable to ASNE.